TIMOUR.

From an Original in the Bodleian Library.

INSTITUTES
POLITICAL AND MILITARY,
WRITTEN ORIGINALLY
IN THE MOGUL LANGUAGE,
BY THE GREAT
TIMOUR, IMPROPERLY CALLED TAMERLANE;

First tranflated into PERSIAN by ABU TAULIB ALHUSSEINI; and thence into ENGLISH, with Marginal Notes,

BY MAJOR DAVY,
PERSIAN SECRETARY TO THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE BENGAL FORCES
From the Year M DCC LXX to M DCC LXXIII.
AND NOW PERSIAN SECR. TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL.

The Original PERSIAN tranfcribed from a MS. in the Poffeffion of Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER, PHYSICIAN EXTRAORDINARY to the QUEEN F. R. & A. S. and of the ROYAL ACADEMY of SCIENCES at PARIS; and the WHOLE WORK publifhed with a Preface, Indexes Geographical Notes, &c. &c.

BY JOSEPH WHITE, B. D.
FELLOW of WADHAM COLLEGE, and LAUDIAN PROFESSOR of ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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TO

WILLIAM DEVAYNES, Esq.

CHAIRMAN,

AND THE OTHER DIRECTORS

OF THE

HONOURABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IN THE YEAR 1780;

THIS WORK,

WHICH THEIR MUNIFICENCE

HAS CAUSED TO BE PUBLISHED,

FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS

IN THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST,

IS WITH MUCH RESPECT AND GRATITUDE INSCRIBED

BY

W. DAVY AND J. WHITE.

PREFACE.

THE illuſtrious Name of TIMOUR was firſt made known to Europe by tradition: and his heroic actions are ſtill celebrated by many who have never ſeen the hiſtory written by Ali Yezdi, nor peruſed the accounts of D'Herbelot and Voltaire. I am therefore happily unencumbered with the embarraſſments of an author who labours to combat general prejudices, or to introduce a new character to the world.

THE life of this great conqueror was written, in obedience to the command of his grandſon, by Ali Yezdi, a native of Perſia. That work, which has been tranſlated into French by Petis de la Croix (and from his tranſlation into Engliſh) is valuable, not ſo much for the flowery phraſes with which it abounds, as for the authenticity of its materials: it was collected from the journals regularly kept by the Emperor's ſecretaries, in which were recorded every event and tranſaction of his reign.

IN

In the thirty ſixth year after the death of TIMOUR, his life was again written, in Arabic, by Ahmed Ibn Arabſhah, a Syrian. That author poſſeſſed, like the former, a lively and deſcriptive pen: but what he gains in elegance, he loſes in truth and candour; for in every page of his work may be diſcerned the hatred of a conquered enemy, and thoſe national prejudices which are diſgraceful to an hiſtorian.

OTHER hiſtories of TIMOUR's life and actions have been written, and ſome of them are now preſerved in European cabinets. One of them which has eclipſed the reſt, and which alone deſerves to be the object of our particular notice, was written under the conqueror's inſpection, if not by his own hand. The ſuperior value of this hiſtory is at once perceived: for it was drawn not only from thoſe authentic ſources to which Ali Yezdi found acceſs, but alſo from a perſonal recollection of thoſe tranſactions whoſe motives and objects were perhaps known only to himſelf. It has not yet found its way into Europe: but I have been informed by Mr. DAVY, who has read it in the Eaſt, that it is a minute and faithful narrative of an intereſting and eventful period. I therefore hope my friend, who will ſpare no ſearch or expence to procure it, will bring it with him when he returns from his public ſtation abroad, and tranſlate for the information and entertainment of his country, a larger and more certain account of TIMOUR's conqueſts than we now poſſeſs. To this hiſtory, ſome who have no other wiſh than to leſſen its eſtimation, have objected, that it muſt certainly be partial, and that its imperial author muſt have ſtudiouſly concealed his

vices from the reader's eye, and reflected upon his virtues more light than they will bear. But these harsh opinions can be pronounced or credited by those only who are unacquainted with his writings, and the praise which his enemies have given him, that he was a lover of veraciy, who hated, detected, and punished falsehood, with sincerity, penetration and constancy. That he might pursue his great objects by the light of truth, he made use of every friend and every foe: and in his Institutes he does not blush to acknowledge his errors and misfortunes, but glories that he has profited by them. Ambition, the infirmity of noble minds, was perhaps his only fault. The desire of conquest is a principle which the liberty of modern times has justly reprobated. But TIMOUR's conquests were in a great measure produced by other causes; by the manners of the age and country in which he lived, and by the treachery of kings, who whilst they envied his greatness, professed themselves his friends. It is needless to speak of his valour; for who has not heard of his successful wars, his perseverance and resolution in distress, and his serene and temperate conduct after victory? That he possessed the humane and liberal virtues cannot be doubted, when we read that he forbore to take revenge when it could not interfere with his interest, and that he extended the rights of subjects and citizens to nations who were willing to be slaves. When he had seen his vast empire rising, like the infant world, out of anarchy under his victorious hands, he dispensed order through every part of the dominion he had created, and governed it with wisdom, justice and benevolence. There is therefore less reason to blame his ambition, than to admire the amiable moderation by which it was restrained.

If the reader of this preface has not perufed any hiftory of TIMOUR's actions, he will think thefe praifes laboured, perhaps will call them extravagant; if he has, he will confider them as the free tribute which honeft admiration and a feeling heart pays to the virtues of an exalted character. There is, however, another reafon which has induced me to fpeak fo largely in this place of TIMOUR's character, and of the Hiftory written by himfelf: for from that Hiftory he felected thofe Defigns and Inftitutes which I have the honour of prefenting in this volume to the public.

THERE is ever a folemnity and a kind of facred authority in the inftructions which a dying parent delivers to his offspring. When the Lord of the Eaft laid down his fceptre, which he had long and well fupported, he did not leave to his fucceffor a verbal injunction, a fhort leffon of morality, which might foon be forgotten amidft the cares and pleafures of a court; but beftowed with his empire a gift more valuable, the art to preferve it. In the leifure of his declining years, he had thrown a retrofpective eye over the fcenes of a long and various life, and thence he committed to writing for the perpetual inftruction of his imperial defcendants, thofe rules of government and thofe meafures of policy which himfelf had invariably followed: and from his Hiftory he collected, without regard to chronological order, the feveral plans he had formed, and their fuccefs. To thefe he added his OMENS, which are omitted in this publication, becaufe, however confiftent they might have been, when they were written, with the manners and religion of the Eaft, and whatever political purpofes they

might

might then have tended to promote, the prefent age wifely difregards fuch fuperftitions.

THE MS. of which I now prefent a tranflation to the public, is to be found in that ineftimable repofitory of literary treafures, Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER's Mufeum. *

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* This Mufeum is univerfally known as one of the moft auguft monuments of a love of fcience now exifting in the world, and is become much too illuftrious an object of curiofity not to merit a more exact defcription than has yet been given of it to the public. My reader therefore will, I am perfuaded, readily forgive me, if I embrace this opportunity of acquainting him in a more detailed manner, with the great extent and variety of thofe obligations which its generous poffeffor has already conferred, and is likely to confer in a ftill higher degree upon the learned world.

IN faying that the Mufeum ftands unrivalled in the number, ufefulnefs, and neatnefs of the ANATOMICAL PREPARATIONS, I fay no no more than what every perfon is prepared to expect. No man could approach Dr. HUNTER's Mufeum without a conviction that no exertion of art, no expence would be wanting to illuftrate and embellifh a fcience which his own ftudies have carried to a degree of excellence, that has made our Metropolis the firft fchool of anatomy in the world.

THE collection of MEDALS acquired at an immenfe expence, defies the competition of any Royal Cabinet in Europe, that of his moft Chriftian Majefty only excepted. The latter, which before the eftablifhment of Dr. HUNTER's was without a rival, can hardly claim a decided fuperiority; in many refpects is confeffedly its inferior. The Doctor, who is not more diftinguifhed by his poffeffion than by his knowledge of thefe treafures, is at prefent employed, with the learned and ingenious Mr. COMBE, in publifhing a part of them in three divifions; one containing the Greek cities, another the Perfian, Phenician, Samaritan, Palmyrene, Punic &c. and the third the Greek Kings.

Of this MS. I publiſhed in 1780 a tranſlated Specimen. The attention with which that experiment of the public favour and opinion was received, gave birth to the preſent work,

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The work will be executed not only with elegance and ſplendor, but with a degree of accuracy and fidelity totally unuſual in publications of this ſort.

The Library comprehends moſt of the early printed books of the xv. century, the rare editions of the claſſics, the expenſive works of natural hiſtory, of general hiſtory, and antiquities; and particularly all the curious and valuable books in medicine. And in addition to this collection of printed books, there is a conſiderable collection of MSS. in all the languages that are cultivated by men of erudition.

The collection of natural history is enriched with ſpecimens of the moſt beautiful productions in every claſs. The claſs of fossils, and likewiſe that of corals, and of Birds poſſeſs many ſpecimens that are peculiar to this cabinet. The claſs of shells is ample and elegant; the ſame character is applicable to that of insects. And there is a numerous catalogue of miſcellaneous curioſities not reducible to any particular arrangement.

This Muſeum, thus ſplendidly and ſcientifically eſtabliſhed, has been the laborious and expenſive acquiſition of a Gentleman, to whoſe love of ſcience the academies of our own and other countries have borne the moſt honourable teſtimonies.

The public muſt be anxious to know the final deſtination of ſuch treaſures; it is largely intereſted in their fate, and would have abundant reaſon to lament their diſperſion. But, happily for the world, their proprietor is actuated by much higher motives than thoſe of mere perſonal gratification; a ſelfiſh, ſolitary love of letters was not the primary inducement that influenced his mind; and in proportion as his treaſures become more important, he feels more ſtrongly the obligation of devoting them to the uſe of the public. Such an act of munificence, as, I hear, He intends to perform in bequeathing his collection to the public

which I immediately determined to execute. As I proceeded in the tranflation, I found difficulties in the fequel, which had not occurred in the fpecimen: and I obferved in the courfe of the work fo many terms of the Military Art, which my ftudies had never led me to examine, and fo many idioms of the Tartar Language which no lexicon in Europe has explained, that I chofe to decline the firft honours of the prefent publication, and defired to devolve the whole tafk of tranflation on Mr. DAVY. His knowledge of that art and language pointed him out as one peculiarly qualified to undertake it; and his ready compliance with my requeft has added an obligation of a public nature to many inftances of private friendfhip. The tranflation was fortunately completed, when Mr. DAVY was called to India by an honourable appointment under LORD MACARTNEY. The fubordinate duties of an Editor, therefore, reverted to me: and I hope that by my accuracy in fuperintending the impreffion of the Original, and my diligence in compiling the Indexes, I fhall give fatisfaction to my friendly affociate as well as to the public. That I may not however lofe any affiftance which a colleague fo ingenious and intelligent can contribute, I have fubjoined to this preface a Letter on the Authenticity of the Inftitutes, with

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public, is all that is wanting to perpetuate the gratitude of the learned world, and to place the name of HUNTER on a footing of equality, in the eftimation of future ages, with the SLOANES, the MAFFEIS, and other illuftrious benefactors of mankind.

IT was to the Doctor's library that this publication was indebted for the original MS; and it was ftill further affifted by a donation of three plates, and a very liberal encouragement of fubfcription.

which

which I was favoured in anſwer to my earneſt requeſt, and which has received the praiſe and aſſent of all who have read it.

THIS is all, concerning the Author and the Edition, that I think neceſſary to be obſerved to the general readers of TIMOUR's Inſtitutes; a work, which if I am not miſled by the prepoſſeſſions of an editor, will be eſteemed curious and valuable by men of various profeſſions. The ſcholar is ever delighted with a larger knowledge of illuſtrious characters, with their remains reſcued from long oblivion, and all that tends to throw additional light on the hiſtory of mankind. He who ſtudies and profeſſes the military art, will ſurvey with pleaſure modes of marſhalling and encamping armies, and the ſtratagems of a great conqueror, judiciouſly and ſucceſsfully formed, though different from his own. The politician muſt be intereſted in the peruſal of meaſures, by which diſtant nations were united under the ſame government, and which baffled all the dangerous intrigues of powerful courts and deſigning men.

BUT the moſt immediate and evident advantage that can be derived from the preſent publication, remains yet to be told. The ſuperiority which a knowledge of the Perſian language confers on its poſſeſſors in our Eaſt India ſettlements is allowed by all whoſe civil or military ſtations have obliged them to reſide in thoſe countries. To thoſe readers who have not received this perſonal conviction, I recommend an attentive conſideration of Mr. DAVY's letter upon the ſubject, which I have added for their peruſal at the end of this volume,

volume, and by which every doubt that remains will be removed. To facilitate the attainment of this beautiful language, a Dictionary, and a Grammar, have been published by two Gentlemen, whom I have the honour to call my friends. The first of these performances is distinguished by immense labour and accuracy, the other by that propriety of arrangement which is peculiar to an elegant mind. But a language is neither learnt nor studied in a grammar or a dictionary. It can only be acquired by the help of books, or oral converse: and it has often been lamented by gentlemen intending to enter into the company's service abroad, and therefore desirous of learning the Persian language, that in England where it cannot be acquired by colloquial methods of instruction, the secondary advantages of printed Persian volumes should be wanting.

THAT this deficiency may no longer be the occasion of difficulties and a reason of complaint, the Institutes of TIMOUR are now published in a faithful English version, and the Persian from which it is translated. Nothing can be more happily calculated for the purpose of teaching a language than a work like the present, abounding with that simple grandeur which is peculiar to Eastern compositions, and which has been so often admired in the scriptures of the Hebrew testament.

GRATITUDE will not suffer me to conclude these prefatory remarks, without expressing acknowledgements to C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Esq; for favours which he has conferred with a friendly politeness on the work and its editor; for the use of a valuable Persian MS. which containing a considerable portion of the original work, has enabled me to collate and correct

many

many faulty paſſages; and for the communication of ſeveral curious Perſian papers, by the help of which my pupils in that language have derived ſuch advantages from my lectures as could not be ſupplied by the ſingle aſſiſtance of the printed volume.

I ALSO deſire the ſame ingenious Gentleman to accept my public thanks for the tranſlation of the Brahminic Prayer, * with which he has favoured me, and which, in compliance

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* Notwithſtanding Mr. DOWE's aſſertion to the contrary, there is reaſon to believe that various tranſlations of Shanſcrit books have been compoſed in the Perſian language; and that the theology and philoſophy of the Hindoos have been a ſubject of enquiry amongſt men of rank in Indoſtan, when letters were much cultivated. In a curious and valuable work compoſed about two centuries ago by the command of the Emperor Akbar, we find a large account of the aſtronomy, philoſophy, religious principles and cuſtoms of this very ſingular nation. This is not the only Perſian work that illuſtrates the hiſtory of a people ſo little known. A tranſlation has been made into the ſame language of the famous Shanſcrit poem, called Mahbarit (or the great war) ſaid to contain a hundred and twenty thouſand ſtanzas. We find likewiſe that Dara Shekoo, one of the ſons of the Emperor Shah Jehan, paid ſuch attention, and gave ſuch encouragement to the profeſſors of the Hindoo Religion, that he was treated as an infidel by his younger brother Aurengzebe, who made this partiality a plea for exciting all the Mahommedans againſt him, and preventing his ſucceſſion to the empire of his father. This learned prince was the author of many works, the moſt valuable of which, perhaps, is his ſummary of the Four Bedes (or ſacred books) of the Hindoos, containing very curious and abſtract diſcuſſions of their metaphyſics and religious principles, *upon the nature and exiſtence of the world — of the ſupreme Being — of the human mind and its faculties — of the worſhip due to the ſupreme Being, as ſole Creator of the world* &c. &c.

Some tranſlated fragments of this work, as well as the original Perſian, having been ſhewn me by Mr. ROUSE, I was highly ſtruck with the ſublimity and beauty of many of the paſſages; and judging that a ſpecimen would be extremely acceptable to the readers of this volume, I requeſted leave to inſert at the end of it *One of the Prayers directed by the Brahmins to be offered up to the Supreme Being.*

with my wifhes he has given me permiffion to publifh. I have therefore inferted it, annexed to the fpecimen of *Eufoof* and *Zoolleikha*, in the prefent publication: not merely for the fake of that beauty of thought and expreffion, of which there is much in both to be admired; but becaufe, like the work of TIMOUR, it ferves to prove that a knowledge of the Perfian difplays to the European fcholar not only whatever is valuable in its native compofitions, but alfo the yet undifcovered treafures of the Shanfcrit, the Mogul, and other remote languages of the Eaft.

WADH. COLL.
Oct. 15. 1782.

J. WHITE.

The knowledge of the particulars contained in this note I owe to my converfations on the fubject with Mr. ROUSE, from whofe general acquaintance with the literature of India I have derived much curious and ufeful information.

Mr. DAVY's Letter on the Authenticity of the Inſtitutes.

Glouceſter, Oct. 24. 1779.

"MY GOOD FRIEND,

I HAVE received your favour of the 20th inſtant, and wiſh moſt heartily that my ability to comply with your requeſt was equal to my inclination.

"YOU apply to me for *external* evidence to eſtabliſh the Authenticity of TIMOUR's Inſtitutes: it is by no means an eaſy taſk which you impoſe on me; ſuch reaſons, however, as have led me to believe them genuine, I ſhall freely communicate. How far they may tend to remove the doubts of unbelieving Critics, I cannot pretend to ſay; poſſibly, in the opinions of ſuch Gentlemen, they may only ſerve to eſtabliſh my own credulity: be that as it may, I ſhall ſet out with declaring to you, that I cannot produce any *hiſtorical* proofs of the Authenticity of theſe Inſtitutes.

"THE only Hiſtories of TIMOUR, which I have read (that written by himſelf excepted,) are thoſe of *Shurruf u'deen Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkhond:* the latter is in the *Rouzut ul Suffau.* True it is that neither of theſe authors, to the beſt of my remembrance, take any notice of the Inſtitutes, or of the Hiſtory (or Commentaries) of TIMOUR, ſaid to be written by himſelf. *Alli Yezzudi* ſays, that TIMOUR was always attended by ſeveral learned and able men, whoſe ſole employment was to keep a ſort of hiſtorical Journals of all Tranſactions as they occurred, both military and civil; that they were directed to

adhere minutely to the truth in their relations of the moſt trifling facts, and that they were ſtill more particularly enjoined to obſerve the ſtricteſt impartiality in their narratives of the conduct and actions of the Emperor himſelf. Theſe hiſtorical Journals, if they may be ſo called, were, from time to time, read in his preſence, in the preſence of his Miniſters and Officers, and of the learned: they were compared with, and corrected by, each other, by the Emperor himſelf, and by ſuch of his people as had a perſonal knowledge of the Tranſactions therein related. It muſt be allowed, that this was no bad way of collecting authentic materials for the hiſtory of a mighty Emperor, governing a mighty Empire; if he took care to enforce his commands by proving himſelf ſuperior to flattery, and by an encouragement of that truth and impartiality, which he ſo ſtrictly enjoined. From theſe materials, ſome of which were in proſe, ſome in verſe, ſome in the Turki (or Mogul) language, ſome in the Perſian, *Alli Yezzudi*, afterwards compiled the Hiſtory of the Reign and Conqueſts of Timour, as he himſelf declares: and with the aſſiſtance of theſe very materials, it is concluded that TIMOUR wrote that voluminous and valuable Hiſtory of his own Life, to which he added his Inſtitutes. How it came to paſs that that Hiſtory and thoſe Inſtitutes were not taken notice of either by *Alli Yezzudi*, or *Mirkhond*, it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to tell; but though the cauſe cannot with certainty be pointed out, there is room for many plauſible conjectures. The hiſtorical Journals before mentioned were numerous, and they were public alſo; the great and the learned had free acceſs to them; many copies of them were taken, and, with the originals, handed down to poſterity: the Life of TIMOUR, and his Inſtitutes, on the contrary, was a private work, compoſed by himſelf, with the aſſiſtance which thoſe materials afforded him. This work the Conqueror was led to engage in from motives to us unknown: amuſement or ambition, or both, might urge him to the arduous undertaking. Whether it was written with his own

hand,

hand, or by a favourite and trufty amanuenfis, is uncertain; but which ever was the cafe, it is moft probable, that one copy only exifted during his life-time, and poffibly for many years afterwards: what became of that copy, during the confufions that followed his death, is equally uncertain and open to conjecture. But after all, it is no unreafonable fuppofition, that fuch a work in manufcript might have exifted, though *Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkhond* knew nothing of the matter. That they were not acquainted with it, is evident: for if they had, and thought it authentic, they would have beftowed upon it all the applaufe which is due to the intrinfic merit of the work; if they had known and thought it fpurious, they would have refuted its authenticity. But they have done neither; they are totally filent on the fubject: from whence we may conclude, that they were ftrangers to the work. But it by no means follows, that fuch a work could not exift, becaufe they, or even cotemporary authors, knew nothing about it.

"THE Hiftory of TIMOUR, written by himfelf, carries with it the ftrongeft proofs that he wrote for pofterity only; and that he could not, in prudence, or in policy, make his work public during his life: for it contains not only the fame accurate detail of the Facts and Occurrences of his reign, as are found in other Authors, but it goes much further. He gives you that which he only had the power to give, the fecret Springs and Motives which influenced his conduct in the various political and military tranfactions of his life, the arts by which he governed, as well as the power by which he conquered. He acknowledges his weakneffes, honeftly owns his errors, defcribes the difficulties in which he was occafionally involved by thofe errors, and the policy by which he furmounted and overcame thofe difficulties. In a word, it is a complete Index to his head and his heart; and though, take it all in all, it redounds to the honour of both the one and the other, yet it was a work by no means calculated for the perufal of his enemies,

or even his ſubjects during his life; ſince it would have enabled thoſe who choſe it, to combat him with his own weapons, or, in other words, to have turned his arts and his policy againſt himſelf. Hence it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Work in queſtion was entirely unknown during his life; and its ſubſequent temporary obſcurity may, I think, be plauſibly accounted for, by the probability of one copy only exiſting at the time of his death, by the uncertainty into whoſe hands that copy fell, and by the diviſions which followed in his family after the death of *Shaahroch*.

" *Abu Taulib ul Huſſeini*, in the Dedication of his Tranſlation to *Sultaun ul Audil*, ſays, that in the Library of *Jafir*, *Haukim* of *Yemmun*, he met with a manuſcript in the Turki, or Mogul language, which, on inſpection, proved to be the Hiſtory of TIMOUR, written by himſelf; containing an account of his Life and Actions from the ſeventh to the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, &c. &c. He then proceeds to give the Tranſlation of the ſaid Hiſtory, in which are included the Inſtitutes.

" IT may appear remarkable that the Tranſlator ſhould ſay ſo little, or in fact nothing, to prove the authenticity of the valuable work, which he was about to tranſlate. It has an extraordinary appearance, I allow; but, I think, the following inferences only can be drawn from it: either that he thought the work itſelf contained ſufficient proofs of its own authenticity, or that at the period when he tranſlated it, it was ſo well known, as not to admit of doubt, or diſpute. For my part, I think his inattention to this point is a very ſtrong, if not the ſtrongeſt poſſible proof, that the Hiſtory and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR are genuine.

" AN European Critic may ſay, that this ſame *Abu Taulib* might have wrote the work himſelf in the Perſian language, and have impoſed it upon the world as a Tranſlation from the

Royal

Royal Mogul author. This I take to be impoſſible. Authors in the Eaſt neither ſold their works to bookſellers, nor publiſhed by ſubſcription, nor depended for ſupport on the applauſe, the generoſity, or the credulity of the public: they were patronized by Princes, who rewarded their labours in proportion to the value of their works. And therefore, if *Abu Taulib* had been capable of writing ſuch a work, he never would have been guilty of ſo dangerous and fooliſh an artifice, which could tend only to diminiſh both his fame and his profit. The applauſe and the reward due to the Tranſlator of an excellent work, muſt, whatever his merit, be inferior to thoſe which are due to the author of ſuch a work; if therefore he had been maſter of abilities to write the Life and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR, as there written, he would have ſpoke in the third perſon inſtead of the firſt (no other alteration being neceſſary,) and have ſtood forth as the author of the firſt and beſt Hiſtory of the Life of TIMOUR, that ever was wrote; for which he muſt have obtained both applauſe and profit tenfold. The ſame mode of reaſoning will hold good to prove that the *Turki* copy could not be wrote by any *Mogul* author, but him to whom it is aſcribed, TIMOUR HIMSELF.

" THE noble ſimplicity of Diction, the plain and unadorned Egotiſm that runs through the whole of the Inſtitutes and Hiſtory of TIMOUR, are peculiarities which mark their originality and their antiquity alſo. The Orientals, for ſome centuries paſt, have adopted a very different mode of writing; the beſt of their hiſtorical works are filled with poetical and hyperbolical Flowers and Flouriſhes, which are ſo numerous, and occur ſo frequently, that many a *folio* volume, weeded and pruned of theſe ſuperfluities, would be reduced to a very moderate *octavo*.

" THE only work bearing the leaſt reſemblance to the Life and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR, which has fallen under my obſervation, is the Hiſtory (or Commentaries) of *Sultaun Babour*, written

written by himſelf. Babour was deſcended from TIMOUR in the fifth degree; he was the ſon of Omer, the ſon of Abu Saeed, the ſon of Mahummud, the ſon of Meraun Shaah, the ſon of TIMOUR. About eighty years elapſed between the death of TIMOUR and the birth of Babour. Babour in the twelfth year of his age, and the 899th year of the *Hejra*, ſat upon the throne of his father, in the kingdom of *Furgauneh*. The earlier part of his life very much reſembled that of his great predeceſſor, TIMOUR: and his abilities in the Field and in the Cabinet, his fortitude in diſtreſs, his activity and courage when ſurrounded with difficulties and danger, and the glory and ſucceſs with which his Enterprizes were finally crowned, make the reſemblance between theſe two Princes ſtill more ſtriking. Like TIMOUR, Babour wrote an accurate Hiſtory of his own Life and Actions in the *Turki* language; which though by no means equal to the admirable compoſition of his renowned anceſtor, is a work of infinite merit. Yet this hiſtory, great as the Royal Author was, remained in obſcurity till the middle of the reign of his grandſon *Acbur*, when it was tranſlated into the Perſian language by one of his Omrahs, *Khaun a Khaunaun*. It is more difficult to account for the temporary obſcurity of this valuable work, than for that of TIMOUR's; for at the death of Babour it muſt have fallen into the hands of his ſon *Humaioon*, and on his death, into thoſe of *Acbur*. Yet till the middle of his reign it remained unknown and untranſlated: and if *Acbur* had, in the early part of his life, been driven from his throne, if Diviſions had taken place in his family, and his poſterity had been ſcattered abroad, this valuable Manuſcript might have fallen into private hands, and have remained unknown for a century longer; poſſibly, have been totally loſt. No Critic, either Oriental or European, pretends to diſpute the authenticity of Babour's Hiſtory; and, as far as I have been able to diſcover, the Learned of the Eaſt conſider the Inſtitutes and Hiſtory of TIMOUR as equally genuine.

"I WAS

" I WAS acquainted with ſeveral great and learned Men in India, both Natives and Perſians : on peruſing the works of TIMOUR, I was led to make the ſame enquiry which you have made, Whether they were, or were not authentic ? The anſwers I received were always in the affirmative, and attended with ſome tokens and expreſſions of ſurprize, that I ſhould, or could, doubt their being genuine. SHAAH AULUM, the preſent Mogul, has a beautiful copy of the Hiſtory and Inſtitutes of TIMOUR; which he holds in ſuch eſteem, and of which he is ſo exceedingly careful, that though he granted me the uſe of any other book in his poſſeſſion, this he poſitively excepted by name, as a work ſo rare and valuable, that he could not truſt it to the care of any perſon whatever.

" UPON the whole, if the learned of the Eaſt, for ſeveral generations, have been induced to give implicit credit to the Inſtitutes and Hiſtory of TIMOUR, which is certainly the caſe, I do not ſee how Europeans can, with any degree of propriety, doubt their authenticity. The Oriental Critics have the very beſt materials on which to form their opinions ; our ſmall ſtock of knowledge in the language, and ſtill ſmaller ſtock of Aſiatic Hiſtorians, render us very incompetent judges of the point in queſtion. There are a great number of Oriental Manuſcripts in the libraries of the Learned ; but I am convinced, that there are ſtill many, very many, which never have found, and poſſibly never will find, their way into Europe ; and therefore, though no *hiſtorical* evidence can be produced to prove the authenticity of the Works of TIMOUR, yet no one can pretend to ſay, that ſuch *hiſtorical* Proofs do not exiſt. The learned of the Eaſt muſt be the beſt judges whether they do, or do not merit their belief and veneration ; and they have thought proper to beſtow upon them both the one and the other. It is much to be regretted, that the Life of TIMOUR, written by himſelf, is not to be found in Europe : if that, and the Inſti-

tutes

tutes could be tranflated and publifhed together, fuch is the accuracy of the narrative, fuch the importance of the matter, and fuch the lights that they would mutually reflect on each other, that it would, I conceive, be impoffible for any one to read them, without acquiefcing in their Authenticity from the *internal* Evidence alone.

Yours, moft affuredly,

WILLIAM DAVY."

Account of the Portrait of TIMOUR.

The Note and Letter here following are printed from a Book of Eaſtern *Portraits given by Mr.* POPE *to the Univerſity. They are ſufficiently explicit in themſelves and require no Illuſtration.*

"THIS Book (containing one hundred and ſeventy eight
" Portraits of the Indian Rajahs continued to TAMER-
" LANE and the great Mogols his ſucceſſors as far as to Au-
" rengzebe) was procured at Surat by Mr. JOHN CLELAND,
" and given to the Bodley-Library, as a token of reſpect by

ALEX. POPE."

1737.

To Mr. EVERARD, Fellow of Braze-Noſe College, Oxford.

LONDON, the 8th. *July*, 1760.

"WITH great pleaſure it is, SIR, that I comply with your intimation to me of a deſire to know ſome particulars of that Collection of the Miniature Portraits of the ſovereigns of Indoſtan preſented by Mr. POPE to the Bodleian library at Oxford, inſcribed with his name and mine.

" WHILE I was in India ſometime before the year ſeventeen hundred and forty, one of the Mogul's generals was with an army incamped before the town of Surat, of which Tegbeg Khaun was then governor for the Mogul. On thoſe occaſions

the general never enters the town himſelf, but deputes certain officers to the governor, under pretext of taking cognizance of his conduct, but in fact to receive a bribe, in form of a preſent, not to make too ſtrict a ſcrutiny.

" TEGBEG KHAUN, who was far from being on good terms with the court, being obliged to proportion his preſent to the need he ſtood in of abſolution for the paſt, and protection for the future, ſent the general ſome lacks of rupees, not leſs than to the amount of three or four hundred thouſand pounds. But that ſuch a tranſaction may not appear too barefacedly what it always is, a corrupt bargain, the general uſually makes the governor ſome preſent, which is to paſs for a return. On this occaſion then the Mogul general ſent Tegbeg Khaun a ſabre ſet with rubies, emeralds and diamonds, worth perhaps at moſt three or four thouſand pounds, together with this Book containing a ſet of Miniature Portraits of the ſucceſſive ſovereigns of Indoſtan for ſeveral ages back. They are in colours, on vellum-leaves, and are copies from a ſeries of originals in the Mogul's palace.

" THAT they are not fancy-pictures, there is great reaſon to believe (independent of the preſumption in their favour from the circumſtance of their being a preſent on ſo capital an occaſion from one great officer of ſtate to another, it being well known, that ſuch a ſet of pictures actually exiſts in the royal palace, it hardly ſeems improbable that a copy was taken from them. And here it is obſervable, that the Mogul-moors have nothing of that averſion to images or pictures, which is even a point of religion to the Mahomedans in general. But theſe Moguls retain ſo much of their Tartarian origin as to tolerate all religions, and even to incorporate theirs of the *Thien*, ſuch as the court of China alſo profeſſes, with the predominant religion of whatever country they conquer; for the greater eaſe of preſerving their conqueſts by this political conformity.

THE

" THE portrait of Tamerlan (Timur-lang) in this collection, and perhaps the only one extant in Europe on which any dependence for genuinenefs may be reafonably had, feems to favour the belief of its authenticity, in that you may very clearly remark in it the diftinctive Tartar lineaments, a broad flattifh face, with fmall eyes. Thefe in his fon and fucceffor, are fomewhat lefs confpicuous, and, as the line of defcent proceeds, they melt by degrees wholly into the foftnefs of the Indian features.

" IT may alfo be obferved, that the Moors, or Mahomedan fovereigns of Indoftan, are in this collection diftinguifhed from the Gentoo ones, by the fafhion of the fkirts of their robes, which in the Gentoos, hang on each fide, cut at bottom into an angular form, as all the Rajahs wear them to this day for an enfign of royalty.

" HOWEVER, this book, fuch as it is, was by the governor Tegbeg Khaun made a prefent of to Mr. Frazer, the fame who, at my inftance and requeft, tranflated from a Perfian manufcript the account of Shah Nadir's (the famous Thamas Kooly Khaun's) expedition into India; and who brought home a curious collection of oriental manufcripts, moft of which once belonged to the royal library of Ifpahan, and had efcaped the rage and barbarifm of the Aphgoons, or Ophguan invaders, under Emir Veifs and his fucceffors.

" MR. FRAZER having parted with this Set of Portraits to me, I fent it to Mr. POPE, with whom I was then in correfpondence; and who wrote me, That judging it too great a curiofity for his private ftudy, he had done it the honour of prefenting it to the Bodleian Library.

"I NEED not, I preſume, inſiſt on how agreeable ſuch a diſpoſal muſt be to one ſo penetrated as I have ever been with ſentiments of veneration for an univerſity, which in quality both of a ſpring-head of learning and of a noble conſervatory of literature, is ſo juſtly conſidered as a national ornament and honour. But I now receive from that circumſtance a freſh pleaſure in its furniſhing me an occaſion of aſſuring yourſelf of the truth with which I moſt reſpectfully am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

humble Servant,

JOHN CLELAND."

The following ſyſtematized *View of the Matters contained in the Work of* TIMOUR *was ſent me by my learned and reſpected Friend Mr.* HENDERSON *of* Pembroke College, *to whom my Thanks are due for this Communication, and whoſe own Words will beſt ſerve to introduce it.*

SUCH a collection as the following has been acceptable in the editions of various authors. I need not mention the *Penu Tullianum*, or the ſimilar work from SENECA. Hereby the moſt important parts are got together, more ready for uſe: and the book is brought, as it were, to a focus. In ſome authors this is more uſeful than in others, in none quite vane. If we may have nothing to learn from TIMOUR, it will at leaſt pleaſe the curious to ſee in one view ſeveral good things which his mind was acquainted with: we ſhall be pleaſed to know that he knew them.

To avoid ſuperfluity of bulk I have made but three heads, *Political*, *Military*, and *Theologic* — adding a few remarkable Events.

In *political* management TIMOUR ſeems to have relied chiefly on amuſing perſons, bribing them, keeping them in ſuſpenſe, and dividing them. He was acutely ſagacious, rightly provident and firmly reſolute. He was generally willing by any undeſerved

ſerved or exceſſive kindneſs to make and keep friends: he ſeemed not to know, but readily pardoned enmity and treachery. And ſuch was his delicacy of ſentiment, ſuch the art of his addreſs that he cleared every ſuſpicion of the guilty and fearful; he covered the bluſhes and ſoothed the confuſion of the conſciouſly unworthy. One ſo qualified, with ſo diſcerning an eye, ſo ſenſible yet ſtrong a heart, ſo open yet powerful a hand, ſo free yet ſo forcible an addreſs, what wonder that he was great?

In *military* occaſions his great excellence ſeems to have been hiding or magnifying his ſtrength, ſurpriſe, varying his attacques, and obſtinacy in keeping his ground. His *politics* availed him much in *governing* his army, and he often uſed prayers, his *oracle* of the KORAN, and other *religious* means to *encourage* them.

PARTICULARS in either of theſe parts are not here noticed; but the more generally applicable Sentences.

IN *theologic* matters I have been more ſcant, not meaning a detail of Mahummudan principles. There are only a few notes, tending to ſhew that religion every where has it's force, and is ſerviceable to a general and prince.

I COULD have added *parallel* ſentences from ſacred and other writers in moſt places. But I thought it needleſs to thoſe who knew them, and uſeleſs to the reſt. I only note TIMOUR'S Maxims.

POLITICAL

POLITICAL MAXIMS.

TIMOUR's ends "Reduction of kingdoms, obtainment of empire, defeating armies, circumventing enemies, making friends of foes, going out and coming in among friends and enemies." [a] P. 3.

"In conducting the concerns of government take by the hand four assistants, Deliberation, Counsel, Vigilance, and Circumspection." 5.

"Requisites for conducting the concerns of empire are one portion, patience and forbearance; and one portion, pretended negligence and feigning not to know that which thou knowest." ibid.

"The experiened have said, By policy kingdoms may be conquered and numerous hosts may be defeated, which by the swords of united armies cannot be overthrown." 7.

"By experience it is known to me that Counsel and Deliberation, and skilful Measures, are only to be found with the wise and sagacious." 9.

"Though the conclusion of every worldly event is covered by the curtain of fate; yet, according to the holy word of Mahummud, in every enterprise which I undertook, I acted from Counsel and Deliberation." ibid.

"When my counsellors and my advisers were assembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, and on the advantages and on the disadvantages, of undertaking or relinquishing, the enterprise before us. And when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myself examined both sides of their opinions. [b] *N.B.* Every plan in which I discovered a twofold hazard I rejected, and chose that in which the peril was single." 11.

"After examining the avenue of retreat, enter on the execution." ib.

"Those are worthy to be counsellors who stedfastly adhere to that which they say and do." 13.

"Turn the ear to the counsel of the tongue, but treasure the counsel of the heart in the soul." [c] ibid.

When officers are sent to lay waste a province, and it is necessary to the province to gain time, the officers are to be amused with bribes and promises. 19.

They are contracted hearts and eyes to which presents seem great. 21.

If officers be known to have

[a] Of these ends the two last only are essentially good. The others are as their final cause. [b] Hereby, 1. He improved his own wisdom. 2. He had the advantage of every good hint — (And seldom does the wisest not need one.) 3. He pleased the courtiers by giving them the honor and importance of advising their sovereign. But by determining for himself, 1. He kept his counsellors from being too powerful. 2. From being envied. And, 3. Was more likely to have nothing offered him unreasonable or unplausible. [c] First be able to distinguish them.

taken

taken bribes, their prince must cause them to *refund the Bribes*, and displace them.[a] ibid.

People broken by oppression, tho' readily agreeing with an opposition may break their engagements. Mauwur u Nuhur[b]. 33.

An army is the sinews of empire. ibid.

A prince delivered from oppression will sometimes turn against his deliverer, suspecting that else he may seize the government.[c] 47.

When a person aspiring to the throne is known among the people, they will look with observation at him. Therefore he must please them. He must shew royal generosity and liberality.[d] p. 65.

When Timour saw his people divided, and some not heartily with him, he sent for these privately, promising each according to his particular desires. But to each he appointed a *Kotul*, i. e. a person who should succeed, in case of death, desertion, dismission, or the like. By this act he engaged their hearts, he made them watchful to seem worthy their rank, he had a spy over them ready to tell when they deserved dishonour, and he retained two persons by one place. 75.

Since GOD is one, and hath no partner, therefore the vice-gerent over the land of the Lord must be one only. *N.B.* This was said against making confederate princes partakers of their commander's fortune. 89.

Suspected princes are to be divided, that they may be weak. But one must be their reconciler to profit by their united strength. 91. Ki Khissero and Aljauitoo Burdi. 93.

A friend in all places cometh to use. 103.

One obstinately resolved on resistance, who is dangerous, may be won by seeming neglect, or indirect commendations, which he may hear. 111.

An ambassador of use to give intelligence. 127.

Unless it be quite necessary a prince should not displace officers of his own promotion.[e] 133.

Timour having a design against Moosi, complaint was made, and redress sought against Moosi from Timour, by the brother of a governor whom Moosi had slain, and who had been Timour's friend. Timour put the complainant into custody, seeming therein very unjust and giving great offence. Then he said that Moosi and he were on

[a] Perhaps this is not so good. For in this case, people might urge bribes persuasively enough on purpose to ruin an officer. Nor do bribers deserve to recover money so mischievously spent. — Would it not be better to put such bribes in the public stock?

[b] This may admonish at the present time.

[c] As for example. There is a *possibility* of it between the (supposed opprest) Americans, and the (supposed deliverers) the French.

[d] At least he must be better than he whom he rivals.

[e] *In some* cases this may be necessary. As, 1. When they are known to be less qualified than they seemed at first. 2. When they act very wrong. 3. When they are too important. (But here is need of caution.) 4. When they are found treacherous. 5. When their removal is required by a more powerful. (But this being a physical or political necessity, not an ethical, justice, and the public good, are to be regarded as much as possible.) 6, At the remonstrance of the people, where they have a part of the government,

good

good terms. Which Moosi hearing became secure, and obeyed Timour's summons. By this stratagem Timour took him, and afterwards punisht him. 137.

"I at all times thought that there was nought more worthy the *valor*[a] of princes than conquering of kingdoms and empires, and waging holy wars with infidels."[b] 141.

When seditions are not checked in time, they may grow to open rebellion. ibid.

Seditious people are to be divided by dispersing them.[c] 143.

Such discipline is to be kept that men and officers may maintain without presumption their proper station. 161.

A prince is never to be easy or secure. 163.

It is good to pardon, to be liberal, to be affable, merciful; but chiefly to regard the low and redress the injured. 165.

The valiant are to be distinguisht by a general. And a prince must favor the learned and religious. ib.

Those who labor to hurt others, are not to be admitted to intimacy. 167.

History and politics should be studied by a prince; that he may know what has happened to royalties and realms, and wherefore, and how it happened.[d] ibid.

A prince should learn the conditions of his subjects in all ranks particularly. 169.

For that purpose intelligencers should be dispersed, who should be condignly punisht for falsehood. ib.

The oppressions of inferior governors to be righted and adequately punisht. ibid.

Evil persons are to have scope till they make their selves manifest and odious. 171.

Not only good and great men are to be rewarded, but enemies and traitors on submission are to be pardoned and used as friends, till their suspicions are overcome and their hearts won. Especially if they are brave, wise and eminent. ibid.

One of various fortune learns neither to confide in friends too much, nor fear his foes. 173.

The man who is faithful to an enemy is honest, and *may* be faithful to the other side. ibid. And vice versa. 175.

A prince should make his laws according to the religion of his country. 177.

Teachers of the divine law should be appointed. 179.

The prince is judge of ecclesiastic matters. ibid. 181, et seq.

In weighty matters the divines are to be consulted about religion. 189.

A prince should attend to the minute parts of religion, and make a reformation when they are neglected.

[a] But a prince must be just and good as well as valiant. [b] This is not inserted as a maxim of true, but of Timour's, policy. Have all European princes been more wisely politic? [c] They may be separated without dispersion. And that will be as good. For instance, 1. communication may be cut off by lines of army and fortification; 2. some may be brought over and garrisoned, protected and privileged; 3. seditious people are the easiest to divide by suspicious hints. [d] Timour learnt hence the evil of tyranny and cruelty.

glected.[a] ibid. et feq.

It is important to have the approbation of thofe who are eminent. And they grant concurrence to one who honours them, and courts it. 193, 195.

If a prince would be ftrong and fecure, he muft attach to him the religious. 197.

When thofe who have injured can be made friends, their injuries are not to be revenged, but forgot. If they ftill will be evil, they are to be left for a time. Elfe they are to be overcome with good. 199, 201.

Princes fhould avail their felves of the intercourfe with divines, lawyers, fagacious perfons, holy men whofe prayer is effectual, warriors, prudent and fecret men, learned men in fciences and arts, hiftorians, afcetics and folitaries, artificers and tradefmen, and travellers. 209 et feq.

Soldiers and fubjects equal, but one muft not hurt the other. 209.

Wages of foldiers to be advanced, not detained, efpecially in critical Times. ibid.

Inferior governors well chofen and ordered do much fervice. 211.

Plenty and population are main ends in a government. ibid.

Merchants may be ufeful not for their wares only, but intelligence from various parts. 217.

It is good to reinftate perfons who are conquered in their former rank in one's own fervice. 217.

When merchants from enemies become fubjects a fufficient capital fhould be allowed them. 219. The fame of the peafant.

A prince's words and actions ought to be his own, and his fubjects and foldiers fhould know they are not caufed by the influence of any other.[b] 221.

A prince fhould hear advice from every one. But fo attend to none as to make him equal or fuperior to his felf in ruling. ibid.

A king fhould be juft. But efpecially he fhould have juft and good minifters. Becaufe they can counteract his evil. But if they do evil, it will ruin him.[c] 223.

He muft act refolvedly and firmly: giving his orders in perfon, that none may dare or be able to oppofe. ibid.

A refolution, enterprife or command muft not be altered. Even tho the confequence is expected to be bad.[d] ibid.

[a] It makes him, 1. lefs fufpected; 2. more revered; and 3. gains him the influence of the religious. *N.B.* The reformation meant is only bringing again into ufe thofe eftablifhed things which by omiffion were obfolete. —The attention is to maintain and fpread religion. [b] This Maxim muft be qualified. It is a good one in an abfolute government, as Timour's; where the perfon, not the law, rules. But in mixt governments, where the law is underftood to be above the king, it is more fecure for the prince to let his fubjects know that minifters direct the government, and to give them up when demanded by the people. Unlefs in fome fpecial cafes. [c] This alfo belongs to an abfolute government. See the note foregoing. [d] This refolution often brings affairs to an unhoped for iffue: and fo gives foldiers an opinion of the commander's being infallible and irrefiftible. Which upon the whole may do more good than evading an evil by change of council. And it is better that a fuperior do not fucceed in a bufinefs, than that he fo fubmit to the fubjects as to be expected or conftrained to fubmit again.

Too great a ſhare of government ſhould be truſted to none. Neither diſcretionary power. But government is to be divided into as many poſts as may be. Then every one's own buſineſs and watching over others will keep the ſupremacy ſafe. 225.

Rulers ſhould have and maintain a dignity of authority: a majeſty, which can overawe from preſuming at all againſt them. 227.

The power of every officer, even the moſt inferior, to be abſolute over all below.[a] 231.

The learned and divines to have ſubſiſtence from the prince. 235.

A province ſhould be inſpected on the third year. And if populous, plentiful and ſatisfied, the governor ſhould be continued. Elſe removed; and receive nothing for three years. 241.

Tax-gathering may be enforced by menaces: but not corporal puniſhment. ibid.

" The governor whoſe authority is inferior to the power of the ſcourge is unworthy to govern. ib.

Ameers to be tried by their Peers. 245.

Miniſters not to be condemned but on fair trial and clear proof. Becauſe many ſeek their ruin, either envying them, or plotting againſt their ſovereign. ibid.

Peculation in miniſters of revenue to be made good from their own fortunes. 249.

They whom a miniſter patronizes will deceive and betray him: whom he neglects oppoſe him. ibid.

Extortion and rapine in all caſes to be puniſht and righted by reſtitution. 251.

The eccleſiaſtic judge to decide of cauſes and crimes cognizable by eccleſiaſtic law. The civil judge to order the reſt. 253.

A miniſter ſhould be firm and generous, intelligent and ſagacious, be able to live in harmony with the ſubjects, be patient under difficulties, and cultivate peace. ibid.

Such a miniſter ſhould be diſtinguiſht by honor, a poſt of authority, the confidence of his maſter, and diſcretional power. ibid.

The miniſter equal to his office is juſt and moderate (concerning government, land and property) never *appears* a hypocrite, ſpeaks well of the ſoldiers and ſubjects, neither ſays nor hears ill of others, behaves ſo prudently as to turn a man's mind from bad intentions, and does good for evil. 255.

Office muſt not be conferred on the *wicked*, the *envious*, the *revengeful*, or the *ſeditious*. ibid.

If a miniſter be too compliant the worldly-minded will bear him down. 259.

N.B. That miniſter is wiſe who regulateth royalty by a juſt knowledge of mankind. ibid.

The dignity[b] of empire is ſupported by extenſive territories, by a rich treaſury and numerous armies. ibid.

[a] This belongs to an univerſity, or other abſolute government. And is beſt for ſuch. This ſhews how nearly approche ſuch government, ariſtocraſy and democracy. The mere ſubject has *many* lords. [b] The dignity, but not the true welfare. As little army as ſafely may: and well filled, not large territory, are beſt.

A good minifter in affairs of the empire, feeth not his enemy.[a] 261.

N.B. That is a valuable minifter who keeps in eye the population and cultivation of the country, the profperity of the fubjects, the ftrength of the army, and the fulnefs of the treafury. ibid.

He is a fkilful minifter who can, in fit time, divide or unite the fubjects and armies; who can remove the difficulties of his fovereign, and can bring the confufed matters of adminiftration to order. 265.

An inferior officer fhould not do the work of a fuperior; nor vice verfâ. 273.

The feveral officers of different departments fhould ftate to the prince in council the truth of the affairs under their jurifdiction: to be recorded, by official fecretaries for the council and a fecret one for the prince, in private confidence. 303. et feq.

Regular accompts to be taken of receipts and expenfes in each department. 307.

A minifter fhould (at leaft) do that for the king which he expects from his own fteward and Major domo. 313.

A good fervant does his duty, becaufe he loves his mafter. ibid.

A good minifter takes not affront nor meditates revenge for the flights or chidings of his prince: but takes his fovereign's faults on his felf.[b] 315.

The fervant whofe eye is on the gleanings of his mafter will overlook his duty. 315.

He who forgetteth his duty fhould be trufted no more. ibid.

"The fervant who in the hour of trial fearcheth after excufes, who on the day of enterprife demandeth his difmiffion, who keepeth his eye on the means of retreat,[c] and who transferreth till to-morrow the bufinefs of to-day, let the names of fuch fervants be held in contempt, and let them be delivered over to the Almighty."[d] ibid.

If a good fervant be any how put to fhame, let it be repaired. 317.

When one who had forfaken his mafter, returns of his own accord, let him be received with honor.[e] ibid.

That fervant, who was good and faithful to his former mafter, is to be received with honor, and promoted if he come to another: and the contrary. ibid.

When a fervant in policy *pretends* friendfhip to his mafter's foe, he fhould be confidered as a wife friend. But if it be earneft, let him be given to the enemy. 321.

When Timour conquered the kingdom of Tooraun, he behaved alike to his friends and enemies;

[a] That is, 1. is intimidated by no oppofition to his well-doing; 2. has no confideration of his own private enmities. His power is never the tool of his own revenge. [b] *N.B.* Under an oriental mafter. [c] i. e. His *own* fafe and advantageous retreat; not that of the adventure. [d] i. e. Be no more concerned with them. [e] How does this confift with the laft maxim but two following? Sometimes one is good, fometimes the other. Difcretion to be ufed. As in anfwering and not anfwering a fool according to his folly.

even to thofe who had injured him, and had deceived him. So that his foes blufhed at his generofity. 323.

The like to thofe alfo who envied him. 325.

If a tyrant govern another kingdom it ought to be affaulted, that it may be delivered.[a] 331.

Alfo if religion be difhonored there. 333.

N.B. Where fchifm and faction abound the nation is near ruin. And it fhould be invaded.[b] 335.

Timour informed his felf of the difpofitions of a people; and indulged their prejudices in his appointments of rulers. 337.

Bufinefs is not to be poftponed: — lenity and feverity have their feafons — the fword is not to be ufed where negotiation will ferve. ib.

" Dominion may be continued to the *infidel*; but to the *tyrant* it fhall not be continued."[c] 341.

In conquered kingdoms, Timour reverenced the divines and learned, and provided for them. The rich and the powerful he held as brethren; the poor as his children. He exalted the nobles. He honored the foldiers and foothed the fubjects. To the good he did good, expelling the vicious. He kept the bafe in proper bounds. He fufpended all between hope and fear. He opened the portals of equity, and clofed the avenues to oppreffion. 345.

He gave the government again to the fubdued prince, holding him obedient by generofity.[d] To the refractory he gave " a *vigorous*, *fagacious* and *upright* Governor." 347.

Thieves were put to death, feditious banifht, and vagrants and buffoons kept out. ibid.

A magiftrate watched the foldiers and fubjects in every city, and was accountable for all ftolen. ibid.

Guards were appointed on the rodes and anfwerable for loffes. ib.

Soldiers were not permitted to enter forcibly a fubject's houfe or feize his property. 349.

Provifion was made for mendicants, that begging might be abolifht. ibid.

N.B. *Particulars* of police are recounted after this page, which will not be noted here: only the more general and important.

Beggars perfifting to beg were fold into another land. 361.

" I ordained that the revenues and taxes fhould be collected in fuch a manner as not to ruin the fubject or depopulate the country.[e] For that caufeth a diminution of the imperial treafures, and the difperfion of the troops; and the difperfion of the troops, an extinction of the imperial power." 361.

Charters of fafety granted to conquered fubjects. 363.

The fubject paid one third of the *current price* of his commodities into the royal treafury.[f] ibid.

[a] This may have limitations. *N.B.* WILL. III. [b] When the policy or religion of a country is wrong, Timour would have it righted by a victorious foreign power.

[c] When *men* are injured they are more impatient (and fhort-fighted) than GOD.

[d] That is not always fafe. The fubject king has too much power and opportunity (if ftill reigning) to hurt the conqueror. It is eafy to obferve that Timour was, like other men, fometimes in extremes. He was too open or too artful. [e] A neceffary confequent on the former. [f] So taxes were always proportionably tolerable. But the exigencies of the ftate are fo different, that is impracticable; except by varying the tax

Soldiers were paid according to that price alſo. ibid. in note.

Whoever cultivated waſte land, or made an aquæduct or canal was free from tax the firſt year, in the ſecond what he offered was received, in the third he was regularly taxed. 367.

If a rich injured a poor man, recompenſe was levied on the wrong-doer. 369.

Waſte lands unowned were annext to the crown. If poor, inſufficient people owned them, they were enabled to cultivate. ibid. [a]

Bridges repaired and built: Inns ſupplied. ibid.

In every city a moſque, a ſchool, a monaſtery, [b] an alms-houſe, an hoſpital (with a phyſician who had ſalary) a government-houſe and a court of juſtice. 371.

An officer (with approbation of eccleſiaſtic and civil judges) took care of the effects of thoſe who abſconded, the inſane, thoſe who died inteſtate, or ſuffered as malefactors. ibid.

Property given to the lawful heir. If none, expended in public piety. 373.

from one commodity to another; ſo as that the moſt ſaleable bears the burthen. That cannot be where all are taxed in the lump. *This is ſaid on ſuppoſition that the ſtate may want more than the uſual revenue, ſometimes. But one third is higher than any* rate of taxation with us. [a] *N.B.* Our Commons. [b] Better a college, or the like.

MILITARY PASSAGES.

"ONE experienced and able ſoldier can direct the efforts of thouſands of thouſands." p. 7.

If a prince ſend an army againſt a foe there is a twofold danger, i. e. that his army may be defeated or revolt. But if he go with them, there is only one peril, i. e. of defeat. [a] 11.

Counſils tending to divide the ſoldiers are not to be hearkened to. And the dictates of fear are not to be regarded. 15.

One in war, having few men, ſhould abide in the deſert. 41.

If the men will not ſtay in the deſert the commander muſt diſpoſe of them, within call, and go to levy more. ibid.

"And the ſpirit of glory aſſaulted me, and ſaid, "Since thou haſt advanced forth with pretenſions to empire, even this is becoming the dignity and the rank of a king that thou reſolve on war. And that thou be either triumphant or be ſlain in battle." 63.

[a] Timour always preferred the ſingle to the double peril.

" And I ſaw the duration of my power in this, that I ſhould divide among my ſoldiers the treaſures which I had gathered." 65.

" I ſaw it was good that I ſhould be quick and break their power before they could gather their army." 69.

" I found that my forces were not united with me. And to make them unanimous I ſaw it was good that I ſhould ſhew kindneſs to ſome, and that with ſome I ſhould diſſemble, and that I ſhould tempt ſome by riches, and ſooth ſome by promiſes and perſuaſions, and engagements." 71.

" I overpowered them at the ſecond charge. And as the night was come I pitched my tents on the ground where I was. And I counſelled with myſelf that I would not let the plain of battle cool. [a] And I conſidered that if I was guilty of delay ſomething might come to paſs which might cauſe me to ſtand in need of aſſiſtance. And tho Ameer Hooſſein was encamped behind me, I did not cauſe myſelf to ſtand in need of his ſupport. [b] But by ſkilful meaſures I defeated the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and the men of Jitteh." 77.

" And I ſaw that they were going troop after troop. And my Ameers and my ſoldiers called for orders to purſue them. And I ſaid to myſelf 'I muſt delay to purſue them until their intentions be known.' And after they had travelled four ſurſungs they halted. And I diſcovered their deſign. Behold their intention was this, that they might bring me down from the mountain apart and aſſault me." 79.

" And on this account the honor of my ſtation urged me that I ſhould take the caſtle of Kurſhee. And certain of my Ameers counſelled that I ſhould go and ſeize it by force. But I deliberated thus, 'If I attempt to reduce it by a ſiege, perhaps my forces may be repulſed.' And in a ſiege ſeveral dangers occurred to my mind, and I rejected that meaſure. And I ſaw it was good that I ſhould turn my face toward Khoraufaun [c] until the hearts of the keepers of the caſtle ſhould be at reſt: and that then I ſhould return and march with ſpeed and aſſault the caſtle by ſurpriſe, and reduce it. And I marched and went toward Khoraufaun. When I croſſed the Waters of Amuveah, a Kauruvvaun arrived from Khoraufaun, and they were journeying toward Kurſhee. And the leader of that Kauruvvaun brought gifts to me. And I asked him of the ſtate of the Ameers of Khoraufaun. And I told him that I was travelling to the kingdom of Khoraufaun. And I diſmiſſed him. And I ſent a ſpy with the people of the Kauruvvaun. And I tarried on the border of the waters of Amuveah until the ſpy

[a] According to the different circumſtances the event of ſuch conduct may be different. [b] Sometimes it may be well to do at almoſt any rate without help, rather than make one, who might help, of too great conſequence. But ſometimes this ſlight may be returned by the ſlighted perſon's becoming as important a foe as he would have been a friend. [c] In a different direction. As if he were going elſe where than to Kurſhee.

brought

brought word that the people of the Kauruvvaun had given intelligence to Ameer Moofi faying, 'We faw Ameer Timour on the border of the waters of Amuveah, and he was going toward Khoraufaun.' And when Ameer Moofi and the forces of Ameer Hooffein heard this news, they were glad of heart. And they pitched their tents, and fpread abroad the carpet of riot and diffipation. And when I received intelligence thereof I felected 243 brave and refolute, and tried, and experienced warriors from among my forces. And I re-croffed the waters of Amuveah. And I marched with great fpeed. And I alighted at the diftance of a furfung from the caftle of Kurfhee. And I commanded that they fhould make ready ladders, and bind them together with ropes. And at this time Ameer Jaukoo kneeled before me and faid, 'Many of our warriors have remained behind: until they fhall arrive, delay is neceffary.' And at this time it came into my mind that I fhould go *alone* and examine the caftle. And I took forty warriors with me, and turned my face toward the caftle of Kurfhee. And when the blacknefs of the caftle appeared, I commanded my warriors to halt. And I took with me Mubbufhur and Abdullah, who had been born in my houfe. And when I came to the border of the ditch I faw that the ditch was full of water. And I looked round about, and I beheld a water-pipe. And water ran through that pipe to the caftle, and they had laid it acrofs the ditch. And I delivered my horfe to Mubbufhur. And I croffed the ditch on that pipe, and I came to the foot of the wall. And I went on to the portal, and ftruck on the door with my hand, and I difcovered that the guards of the portal were afleep.[a] And they had filled up the portal, behind the door, with clay and earth. And I looked round the walls of the caftle, and faw the place where the fteps of the ladders could be fixed. And I returned, and I mounted my horfe, and went back to my warriors. And the troops, who had remained behind, came with the ladders. And they were all armed. And they took up the ladders, and I turned my face toward the caftle. And they croffed the ditch on the pipe. And having fixed their ladders they entered on the walls of the caftle. And when 40 refolute men had entered the caftle, I alfo placed my foot on the ladder and went in unto them. And they founded their trumpets.[b] And I obtained poffeffion of the caftle. 95.

"And at that time news came unto me, that the Ouzbuks[c] con-

[a] Is not this excellent adventure difgraced by fome rafhnefs in this part of it? Timour might have been knocked on the head from the wall. The guards might have rufhed out and feized him. This folitary part feems hardly neceffary to the reft. At leaft another might have done it. [b] A common artifice, efpecially in furprife: that few men make a terrible noife. [c] An unruly, mifchievous, oppreffive tribe in Mauwur u Nuhur — the government of which had been taken from Timour, and given to Ouleaus Khaujeh. But Timour fought againft them for the injured. See p. 25, 27, 29, 35, 61, 65, 77, 79, 81, 83.

tinued in the caſtles. And I ſaw it was not good that I ſhould ſend my armies againſt them. And I wrote a ſummons, as if from Ouleaus Khaujeh. And I gave it to an Ouzbuk, and I ſent forces with him. And I commanded them to ſhew themſelves, and to raiſe a great duſt. And when the Ouzbuks received the ſummons of Ouleaus Khaujeh,[a] calling them to him,[b] and ſaw the duſt raiſed by my people, they quitted the caſtles, night after night,[c] and fled. And the land of Mauwur u Nuhur was delivered from thoſe oppreſſors, who had ſought to ſlay me. And that kingdom ſubmitted to my government."[d] 105.

"Although I had determined to put them to death, yet as they were warriors, I ſaw it was good that I ſhould diſpel their fears, and employ them in war."[e] 109.

"And I ſaw my ſucceſs in this, that I ſhould throw the people of Khorauſaun into the ſleep of negligence. And I turned toward Summurkund. And when, from the news of my return toward Summurkund, Mullik Gheaus u deen had ſat down quiet, I reſolved thus, 'Now the hearts of the people of Khorauſaun are no longer affraid of me, I muſt fall upon them.' And I turned back. And I marched with ſpeed. And coming to Hurraut I took Mullik Gheaus u deen in the ſleep of ſecurity." 111.

"I ſaw my advantage in this, that I ſhould ſpeak fair to his ambaſſador, and diſmiſs him, and ſhut up the road to the Duſht,[f] and appoint an army to ſet out after the ambaſſador: And that on the day after that on which the ambaſſador ſhould enter the preſence of Auroos Khaun without ſuſpicion, whilſt Auroos Khaun ſhould be unprepared, my forces ſhould aſſault him. And even while the ambaſſador related his ſtory my victorious armies, like an unforeſeen calamity, poured on the head of Auroos Khaun. And Auroos Khaun had not the power to oppoſe them. And the Duſht of Kipchauk was ſubdued." 115.

No more army to be taken on an expedition than can be maintained. (Elſe they will mutiny or decay.)[g] 121.

"And my people were a hungered. And the army of Touktummiſh Khaun were full. And my chiefs and my Ameers ſet not their hearts upon battle, until my ſons and my grandſons came and kneeled down, and devoted their lives unto me. And at this time the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh plotted ſecretly with me.[h] And I found it was good that I

[a] As they believed. [b] Perhaps to ſtrengthen his army for ſome ſudden expedition. [c] To keep it as ſecret as might be, that the caſtles were unmanned. [d] What became of the Ouzbuks who left the caſtles? Did not they go to Timour's army, taking it for Ouleaus Khaujeh's? Were not they then taken priſoners? Timour ſays nothing of them. [e] But they muſt be watched. [f] Why? To retard the ambaſſador? If he made it quite impaſſable, there muſt have been ſome other (probably longer or worſe) road which the ambaſſador took. [g] This admits ſome variety, when the army can be ſuſtained at coſt of the enemy—as in foraging or plundering the country. [h] See p. 175. for Timour's private opinion, and, in general, public acknowledgment of ſuch behaviour.

ſhould

ſhould aſſault the foe. And that when the two armies were engaged, the ſtandard-bearer of Touktummiſh Khaun ſhould invert his ſtandard.[a] And when the flames of war and of ſlaughter aſcended high, I commanded that the tents ſhould be pitched, and that they ſhould prepare victuals.[b] And at this time the ſtandard of Touktummiſh Khaun was inverted. And Touktummiſh, diſmaid and confounded, gave the tribe of Jouji to the wind of deſolation; and turned his back on the field of ſlaughter, and fled." *123.*

When Timour's Ameers objected to attacking Hindoſtaun, he anſwered them ſaying, "I will ſeek the ſign of war in the Koraun." And they all conſented thereto. And this ſacred verſe came forth, "O Prophet! fight with the infidels and the unbelievers."[c] 131.

"I deliberated with myſelf concerning the Ameers, whether I ſhould throw them down from their commands. But ſince I myſelf had exalted them, I ſought not to pull them down. And I treated them with kindneſs, although they had angered me." 133.

"And the whole of my army was 92 thouſand horſe-men: according to the number of the names of Mahummud, the prophet of God. And I took this number as a fortunate and a happy omen." 135.

"It came into my mind, that if I ſhould reſolve on ſubduing the caſtle of Dehli, perhaps the war might be long and tedious. And I counſelled with myſelf, that I would make myſelf appear weak in their ſight: that the enemy might gain courage, and fight with me on the plane.[d] And I dug a ditch round my army, and I ſtrengthened myſelf within that ditch. And I ſent a force to meet them. And I commanded the ſoldiers that they ſhould ſhew their ſelves weak and fearful. And when the enemies found their ſelves powerful, they exulted. And they came into the plane. And they oppoſed my victorious armies face to face. And Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, came into battle. And he was defeated, and he fled

[a] The ſtandard ſeems equally important in moſt armies. [b] David ſpeaks of a table ſpread in ſight of enemies. Timour did this to ſhew his defiance of the foe, and certainty of victory. This, if he gained the conqueſt, would give him confidence among the ſoldiers. But how if the already falſe ſtandard-bearer had been falſe to Timour? How if his ſeeming plotting with him had been really againſt *him*? This is one of the many riſques which heroes have been remarked for running. Had they failed they would have been called raſh. Having proſpered they are ſtiled glorious. It may be ſometimes *neceſſary* to dare at hazard. But events alter not the *characters* of *actions*. Nor is that the beſt glory which is acquired by chance. [c] Timour was reſolved in his ſelf. He wiſhed an omen that ſhould ſuit his reſolution. He was prepared to conſtrue a doubtful one in it's favor. Do Chriſtians always conſult their *bible more impartially*? Even in matters of doctrine, where paſſion and intereſt are generally leſs concerned? —This uſe of the Koraun is of the ſame kind with auguries and other omen-ſeekings. It is an addreſs to popular prejudices. It is applying a ſtrong motive. — How deſirable that princes in Chriſtendom would, at leaſt, as implicitly obey the more peaceable dictates of their goſpel, as the hero Timour did the warlike verſe of his fighting Prophet! [d] They were in the caſtle.

toward

toward the mountains. And ſpoils, and wealth, above meaſure, fell to my ſoldiers." 139.

"And I let looſe the brave men."[a] 143.

"I gave encouragement to my ſoldiers. And with money, and with jewels, I made them glad of heart. And I permitted them to come into the banquet. And in the field they hazarded their lives. And I withheld not from them my gold nor ſilver. And I educated, and trained them to arms. And to alleviate their ſufferings, I myſelf ſhared in their labors, and in their hardſhips." 161.

"I hazarded my perſon in the hour of danger."[b] 163.

"I kept my ſoldiers ſuſpended between hope and fear." 199.

"The chiefs and the commanders of my forces I admitted to my councils. And I raiſed them to exalted dignities. And I aſſociated, and converſed familiarly with them." 207.

"I loved thoſe intrepid warriors who had given repeted proofs of their courage and abilities.[c] And I propoſed queſtions to them concerning the art of war, and the various modes of advancing in the field of battle, and of retreat in ſituations of peril, and the methods of charging and breaking the lines of the enemy, and of ſkirmiſhing, and all the other operations of war. And I placed confidence in them. And I conſulted their opinions in proportion to their ſkill and experience." 207.

"The brave from among my ſoldiers I diſtinguiſht by gifts and honors." 209.

"I kept my troops in a ſtate of readineſs. And I advanced to them their wages, even before it was due." ibid.

"My ſoldiers of every rank I confined in ſuch ſort to their ſeveral ſtations, that they could not ſtep beyond the limits preſcribed to them." ibid.

"Relative to the various tribes who ſought ſhelter under my government, Thoſe who were ſoldiers I ordered to be incorporated with my troops, and entertained according to their rank &c." 217.

"And the genuine deſcendant of a ſoldier reſolute and brave, of whatever tribe, I ordered to be enrolled in the number of my forces."[d] 219.

N.B. Particular regulations for the army are here omitted. They are detailed, p. 229 &c.

"I commanded that if any one of my ſoldiers, exceding the limits preſcribed him, ſhould injure, he ſhould be delivered into the hands of the injured perſon, that he might retaliate." 251.

"By experience it is known to me, that he only is equal to ſtations of power, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating armies: who in

[a] "Let ſlip the dogs of war." [b] A part of character eſſential to a war-chief.
[c] Both theſe were neceſſary to make a ſoldier important with Timour. And a general, who makes *fit* perſons important, will gain as much conſequence as he gives.—The like is true in all governments as well as the military. [d] Fortes creantur fortibus.

the hour of battle giveth not his heart from his hand, nor permitteth apprehenſion to take poſſeſſion of his ſoul: who can direct the efforts of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confuſion can by his abilities reſtore them to order: who can rule armies with majeſty and authority, and who hath the vigor to chaſtiſe thoſe who riſe in oppoſition to his commands." 269.

A ſuperior officer ſhould not be ſent on a ſervice which an inferior can do. 273.

"Every one of the Ameers who from a ſpirit of enterpriſe demanded employment, his requeſt ſhould be granted [a]. ibid.

"An atchievement from attention to perſonal ſafety in the moment of peril ſhould not be regarded." 275.

"The right of the warrior ſhould not be injured. The ſoldier grown in years ſhould not be deprived of his ſtation or wages. The actions of the ſoldier ſhould not be ſuppreſt. For thoſe men who ſell their *permanent happineſs for periſhable honor* are worthy of reward." [b] 277.

Every ſoldier to have the (extra) price of his ſervices paid him.— Hoſtile ſoldiers, captive, not to be killed, have it offered to ſerve in the conqueror's army, or liberty. [c] — If a hoſtile ſoldier, brave and faithful to his own commander, from choice or neceſſity come under another authority, his good qualities and actions to be rated as if originally in the latter ſervice. 279.

"I ordained, that whoever of my Ameers ſubdued and wreſted a kingdom from the hands of the enemy, that for the ſpace of 3 years the vice-gerency of that kingdom ſhould be conferred on him." [d] 291.

The ſoldier who turns his face from the foe, muſt appear no more. — He who on the day of enterpriſe demandeth his diſmiſſion, be in contempt &c. 315.

"If one fight valiantly and defeat his foe, let not the inſinuations of the envious be heard to his prejudice. Permit not his glory to be concealed. But let it be exhibited in ten-fold ſplendor." [e] 321.

[a] *If he failed, his own ſelf-willed temerity was the cauſe. If he proſpered, the fruit was the prince's.* [b] What a ſale! What a ſentiment! [c] That ſhould be on promiſe to ceaſe hoſtility. [d] But care muſt be taken againſt his oppreſſion and peculation. [e] For many good military directions, ſee p. 375. et ſeq.

REMARK-

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

TIMOUR with 243 warriors fubdued a caftle fortified by 1200. P. 7.

He was once brought low. He had but 7 on horfes, and 3 on foot. He carried his wife (whom he calls "honored"[a]) behind on his horfe. He wandered in the defert, and one night alighted at a well. Three of his people ran away with 3 horfes. So he had 7 men and 4 horfes left. Yet he was ftrong of heart and did not lament. Then Aali Beg came upon him, carried him off and imprifoned him in a place full of vermin, with a guard over him. There he lay 62 days. Then he wrefted a fword from his guards, attackt them and they fled. Upon which he prefented his felf before Aali Beg. Who being confounded made excufes, gave him his liberty, reftored his arms and horfes, adding as a prefent a lean horfe, and a worn out camel: but kept back part of his property. 35.

"And I implored All-mighty God that He would deliver me from that wandering life. And I had not yet refted from my devotions when a number of people appeared afar off. And I mounted my horfe and I came in behind them. And I afked of them, faying, "Warriors who are Ye?" And they anfwered unto me, "We are the fervants of Ameer Timour, and we wander feeking him, and lo! we find him not." And I faid unto them, "I alfo am one of the fervants of Ameer: how fay ye if I be your guide and bring you unto Him?" And one of them put his horfe to fpeed and went and carried news to the leaders, faying, "We have found a guide who can lead us to Ameer Timour." And the leaders gave orders that I fhould appear before them. And they were three troops. And when their eyes fell on me they were overwhelmed with joy. And they alighted from their horfes, and they came and they kneeled, and they kiffed my ftirrup. And I alfo came down from my horfe, and took each of them in my arms. And they wept. And I wept. And we mounted our horfes, and came to my dwelling. And I collected my people together and made a feaft. And on the next day Share Behraum, who had feparated from me, in the narrownefs of his heart, arrived alfo. And he made excufes. And I took him into my arms. And I accepted his excufes. And I treated him with fuch kindnefs that he came forth from his confufion." 53.

"Ameer Sheikh Mahummud, the fon of Biaun Suldoze, was always drinking wine and ftrong fpirits. And in the end the wine deftroid him, and he departed from the world. And I took poffeffion of his lands." 89.

"When Ameer Hooffein fent

[a] Remarkable in the Eaft.

unto me a Koraun by which he had taken an oath that nought was in his heart but friendſhip and brotherly affection towards me, and ſent a meſſage unto me, ſaying, "If there be ought in my heart contrary to that which I ſay, and if I break my oath and do evil unto thee, may this book of God ſeize upon me." [a] Seeing that I thought him a true believer, I put confidence in his words. And he ſent a perſon unto me, and a meſſage, ſaying, "If it may be ſo that we may ſee each other in the paſs of Chukchuk and renew our antient faith, truly it will be better." And this was his deſign: that by perfidy and treachery he might ſeize on me. And altho' I knew that much faith was not to be placed on his word or on his oath, yet out of reſpect to the holy Koraun I reſolved that I would go to meet him. But I determined that I would firſt ſend a number of my reſolute warriors and ſecrete them round about the paſs of Chukchuk, and that I my ſelf would go with another body of my people, and ſee Ameer Hooſſein And I ſent advice to my friends, who were the followers of Ameer Hooſſein, that they ſhould inform me of his deſigns. And Share Behraum, who was of my friends, [b] informed me of the deſigns of Ameer Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein ſlew him: [c] and ſet out with a thouſand horſemen to come upon me. And at that time I had pitcht my tents at the entrance of the paſs, and this news came unto me. And I ordered my forces. And behold the Van guard of Ameer Hooſſein appeared in ſight. And my Kurrauvulaun brought word, ſaying, "It is the army of Ameer Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein cometh not with them. For he hath heard that Ameer [d] is come alone, and he hath ſent an army to ſeize Thee." And behold I was prepared, and two hundred horſe-men were all that were with me. [e] And I waited until the forces of Ameer Hooſſein had entered the paſs. And I ſent a meſſenger to the people whom I had ſent before me, and I commanded them to ſeize the way of retreat. And I my ſelf oppoſed them face to face. And I encloſed my enemies in that paſs, and took many of them priſoners. And Ameer Hooſſein was confounded and made excuſes. And I had faith in him no more. And I was no more deceived by his words." 101.

"When in an engagement with Touktummiſh Khaun my forces were thrown into confuſion by the

[a] Was this imprecation implied in the oath, and only repeted in another form according to the Eaſtern manner? Or is it ſomewhat more? The oath only aſſuring that the profeſſion was as true as that by which it was ſworn. And the (ſuppoſed or real) book of God, among it's believers, is eſteemed the pureſt and moſt certain truth. Therefore to ſwear falſely by it is the greateſt crime. It is to ſay that a wicked lye is as true as the divine word. If this be accompted to incur the curſes of the book, the oath implies an imprecation. [b] He had revolted from Timour and was reconciled. p. 55. Yea twice. 87. [c] A reconciled foe, even a faithleſs friend (as in this Inſtance) *reconciled*, may prove a friend faithful unto death. Who then would revenge? [d] Timour. [e] About his perſon. Not including thoſe ſent before, and ſecreted round the paſs.

ſuperior

ſuperior numbers of the enemy, Meer Zeau u deen, noted for the efficacy of his prayers, bared his head and ſtretched forth his arms in ſupplication; his prayer was not yet concluded when the effects of his mediation became apparent." 207.

"When one of my wives was afflicted with a deadly diſtemper, 12 holy Siuds celebrated for their piety aſſembled together. And each of them devoted a year of his own exiſtence to her preſervation. And ſhe was reſtored to health: and enjoid the full meaſure of their donation." [a] 207.

"Several of thoſe in whom I confided, from envy and malice communicated fictitious tales to me, both in public and private, to the prejudice of Ameer Ubbaus; who was one of my moſt powerful and moſt faithful chiefs. And they kindled the fire of my reſentment by their falſe reports. And in the moment of anger I ordered him, unheard and unexamined, to be put to death. And in the end I diſcovered the perfidy of his accuſers. And I was aſhamed and confounded at my own conduct." [b] 247.

"Mullick Shaah Siljokee diſgraced his Vizzeer Nizzaum ul Moolluk, who was adorned with every great and ſhining quality; and appointed an ignoble and worthleſs man in his place. By the ill conduct, vicioufneſs and villainy of that miniſter the foundation of the power of Mullick Shaah was overturned." 255.

"Munguli Booghau advanced with an army againſt me. And before the engagement I ſent propoſals to him, and endeavored to draw him over to my ſide.[c] But he forgot not his duty to Tughulluk Timour Khaun. And he formed his troops in order of battle. And he charged my forces with undaunted reſolution. And he was defeated. And when he afterwards voluntarily came unto me, I raiſed him to an exalted ſtation. And ſuch were the favors which I conferred upon him, that if any reſentment remained in his heart, it was obliterated. And he ſignalized his ſelf in my ſervice, and conferred obligations on me. And when I encountered Kurrau Euſoof, in the moment that my troops were diſcouraged and thrown into confuſion he placed on his ſpear the head of a hoſtile commander. And he named it the head of Kurrau Euſoof, and called to my forces, that Kurrau Euſoof was ſlain. And he gave courage to my ſoldiers. And he ruſht on the centre of Kurrau Euſoof's line, and drove him from the fields." 281.

"When the Khaukaun advanced againſt Hurmuz, the ſon of Nouſharevaun, with an army of 3 hundred thouſand ſanguinary Toorks, that prince ſent forth Behraum

[a] i. e. Lived 12 years longer. Could not he get a farther prolongation of her life? or was he tired of her? [b] What muſt be the feelings of an honeſt, humane mind, in ſuch a caſe! From the horrible miſery of ſuch conduct how happily are thoſe princes ſecured whoſe authority and it's acts the laws define! What then is he who would be abſolute? knows he his own weakneſs? knows he the craft of others? or cares he not for miſchief? [c] Timour knew it would be for his advantage to ſeduce Munguli Booghau. Had he yielded to the temptation, Timour would have deſpiſed, deteſted, perhaps puniſht him.

Joubeen, who had been the minister, and the counsellor, and the general[a] of his father, with 320000 Persians to oppose him. And he engaged that prince. And for 3 days and for 3 nights the slaughter continued with great fury. At length he defeated the Khaukaun, and dispatcht intelligence of his victory to Hurmuz. And he also sent unto him the spoils which he had taken. And the envious and the slanderous, who influenced the councils of Hurmuz, forged accusations against him, saying, " Behraum hath secreted the treasures of the enemy. And he hath seized to his self the sword and the crown, and the buskins of the Khaukaun, ornamented with jewels of price." And Hurmuz forgot the services of Behraum. And he credited the accusations. And he pronounced him a traitor. And, in token of his anger and contempt, he sent a chain to him, and a collar, and the veil of a woman.[b] And Behraum Joubeen placed the collar on his neck, and on his feet he fastened the chain. And he clothed his self in the female attire. And he called the Ameers and the chiefs of his soldiers together. And thus habited he gave public audience to his people. And when they beheld Behraum they uttered revilings against their prince. And they turned their hearts from their duty to Hurmuz. And under the banners of Behraum Joubeen they proceeded to the palace of the king. And they deprived him of his regal authority."[c] 285.

[a] In warring countries it may be often convenient to unite these characters. [b] How poor females are despised in the East! Yet no where more loved. So do esteem and love differ. [c] Contrast with this Chughtai Khaun's story. p. 249.

THEOLOGIC AND RELIGIOUS SENTENCES OF TIMOUR.

VICTORY procedeth not from the greatness of armies, nor defeat from inferiority of numbers. For conquest is obtained by the divine favor [and skilful measures.] P. 7. et seq.

" If the canopy of heaven were a bow, and if the earth were the cord[a] thereof, and if calamities were the arrows, if mankind were the mark for those arrows, and if Allmighty GOD (the tremendous and the

[a] It appears hence that the convexity of the terraqueous globe was not thought of by the Caliph. He considered the flat, horizontal surface of the earth as like the cord.

the glorious) were the unerring archer —— to whom could the ſons of Adam flee for protection? The ſons of Adam muſt flee unto the Lord."[a] 17.

Timour in all his actions ſought an omen from the Koraun —— his Bible.[b] 19, 75, 89 &c.

"And I gave praiſe unto God, and I ſaid unto my ſelf, God doeth great things for me." 49. *N.B.* So he ſays on all ſuch occaſions.

"And on that night, which was a holy night, I kept watch. And when the morning broke I was emploid in prayer. And after repeting the prayers preſcribed by the law I lifted up my hands in ſupplication. And in the midſt of my ſupplication I wept. &c." 51. *N.B.* He was then diſtreſt. Mark the good effect of this in "Remarkable Events." ibid.

"And the hour of prayer was arrived. And we prayed together."[c] 55.

"I opened the holy book for an omen. And this ſacred verſe came forth as a ſign. "How oft do the weak vanquiſh the powerful, by the permiſſion of All-mighty God." 75.

"The forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh ſpent that night in watching. And I in that night, on the top of that hill, was emploid in humiliations and ſupplications to the throne of All mighty God. And between ſleeping and waking I heard a voice as of ſome one ſpeaking to me, ſaying, "Timour, victory and conqueſt, and triumph, are thine." And when the morning broke I praid with my people."[d] 79.

"And at this time Baubau Aali Shaah came before me, and ſaid, "Timour, God All-mighty hath declared, that if there were two Gods in the Heavens and in the earth, the order of the univerſe would end in horror and confuſion." And I took warning by his words." 89.

"By the favor of All-mighty God I obtained poſſeſſion of the caſtle."[e] 99.

Timour having received an inſidious invitation, wherein he ſuſpected treachery and danger, yet becauſe it was accompanied with a Koraun, on which amity had been ſworn, out of reſpect to the Koraun he reſolved to go."[f] 101.

"And I reſted on the favor of the All-mighty."[g] 127.

"I will turn to All-mighty God, that whatever be the will of God, that I may do." 131.

"Having pitcht my tents to-

[a] This is applied to ſhew, one muſt repair to a hoſtile ſuperior, too ſtrong to be reſiſted, in ſubmiſſion. [b] This has been (with our Bible) an immemorial practice among Chriſtians.) (And a ſimilar among many people.) Auſtin notes ſome that took *Sortes* from the goſpels. (Ep. 119.) The ſame with the pſalms or goſpels, or any thing elſe, is condemned in Charles the Great's Capitular. (Cap. 4.) Cedrenus relates that Heraclus ordered his army to live purely three days, then opening the goſpels he conſtrued the place preſented as an order to winter in Albany. Peter Bleſenſis conſtrued a viſion of his from a paſſage opened on in the pſalter. (Ep. 30.) & plura, &c. Beſide the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, and the like. [c] Vid. Remarkable Events. ibid. [d] Immediately follows a ſignal victory. [e] This was after a moſt painful and perilous adventure. Yet he attributes the ſucceſs to God alone. [f] And eſcaped, having defeated thoſe who attackt him. [g] And proſpered.

ward

ward Hindoſtaun I repeted the prayer of victory." 133.

"Praiſe is due to the GOD of the univerſe, that He hath brought under my authority many of the kingdoms of the world." 147.

"May GOD be merciful to that ſervant [a] who knoweth his own limits: and who placeth not the foot of temerity beyond his proper bounds." ibid.

"And among the rules which I eſtabliſht for the ſupport of my empire, the firſt was, That I promoted the worſhip of Almighty GOD: and at all times, and in all places, ſupported the true faith." [b] 159.

"It is known to me by experience that every empire, which is not eſtabliſht in morality and religion, ſhall paſs away." 175.

"I appointed a man of holineſs and illuſtrious dignity to watch over the conduct of the faithful, that he might regulate the manners of the times, [c] and appoint ſuperiors in holy offices: and eſtabliſh in every city and in every town a doctor learned in the ſacred law: [d] and ordain ſalaries for ſuperior eccleſiaſtics and for holy men, and for men of knowledge." [e] 177.

"I commanded that they ſhould build places of worſhip in every city." 179.

"He put an end to thoſe diviſions. And by ſo doing gave ſtrength to our holy law." [f] 183.

"Encreaſe thou thy good actions that thy benevolent Creator may encreaſe his mercies to thee." 197.

"The different offices in an earthly empire are ſymbols of thoſe in the empire of the Creator. In which are laborers, agents &c. And they are all buſied in their proper departments. And they ſeek not to overleap the bounds allotted them. And they wait in perpetual obedience to the will of the Lord." 201.

"We cannot be profuſe [g] in our offerings to Almighty GOD." 203.

"I granted admiſſion to Theologians, and to holy men. And they reſorted at all times to my palace. And they adorned my imperial aſſembly by their preſence." 205.

"I revered devout and pious men. And I implored their prayers

[a] This was addreſt to Bajazet. Would all princes conſider and conduct their ſelves as the *ſervants* of GOD! [b] Thus far is right. But whatſoever is more cometh of evil. Support the true faith. Promote it. It cannot be enforced. To attempt that is the effort of a zeal not according to knowledge, ſet on fire of hell. The faith of force is not that which worketh by love. Therefore not that which fulfils the law. Much the ſame may be ſaid of puniſhing hereſy. The civil power ſhould puniſh civil crimes. What hurts the ſtate is a civil crime. Nothing elſe comes under the magiſtrate's vindictive power. [c] That was great authority. Timour (not to derogate from the purity of his intention) found his accompt in favoring the religious. They are important. And he gained their favor. 179 &c. [d] The appointer was an arch-biſhop, as it were. Here we ſee ſome regal power in the church. Indeed if a prince muſt ſupport religion, he muſt have ſome eccleſiaſtic authority. [e] "The prieſt ſhall preſerve knowledge." — Beſide all this power, this man had the appointment of judges and ſupervifors of the markets. [f] Is this unworthy the attention of Chriſtians? Would not our ſtrength be ſtrengthened by union? Yet can we hope it? Scarcely while any among us, like thoſe divided ones, "fulminate curſes and denounce execrations" one at another. Much leſs, while, like them, any "procede to hoſtilities." [g] Taking that word in a bad ſenſe.

in the hour of retirement. And I fupplicated their bleffings on my actions. And in war, and in peace, and in my councils, and in my deliberations, I reaped the greateft advantages from their mediation." [a] 207.

"I united my felf with holy and pious men: with thofe to whom the All-mighty had given wifdom. And I affociated with them. And I heard from them the word of GOD. And I acquired knowledge of the bleffings of a future ftate. And I faw them perform miracles and wonderful things. And I reaped delight from their converfation." 215.

[*Annotation* on the NOTE, P. 215.

Timour is often tautologic and indiftinct. But I am willing to allow that the firft, third, and tenth Orders were really different. (I mean that whether different or not in their felves, effentially, they were fome how diftinguifht then and there.) Yet I affent not to the diftinction in this Note. None of thefe claffes is faid by Timour to live in feclufion. [b] And perhaps both the third and tenth might live fo. The Eaftern hermits are not more alike than the Weftern. Timour's variety appears to me thus. The firft were regular, authoritative divines. The third were good men: whofe merits and interceffions have generally been believed to avail. The tenth were fuch as moreover had extraordinary communications with heaven: receiving thence miraculous revelations, gifts and powers. Thefe are really diftinct in their felves.]

"Relative to the various tribes who fought fheltre under my government, I commanded that thofe who were Theologians fhould be received with reverence: and that all their defires fhould be fulfilled: and that they fhould be fupported in affluence." 217.

"Thy good actions, and the bleffings which the people of the All-mighty receive from thy hands, are equal to all the merits of pilgrimage and fanctity." [c] 263.

"In every nation He that feareth GOD, and worketh Righteoufnefs, is accepted with Him."

[a] The notion that good perfons are fo acceptable to GOD, that for their fakes he confers favors on the lefs deferving, is not peculiar to the Chriftian or Mofaic œconomy. ——The blood of JESUS is faid to fpeak better than that of Abel. Not that the latter, as fome conftrue it, cried for vengeance. But the former was a better mediator. Abel was confidered as a mediator, and petitions offered to GOD in his name. His blood was efpecially facred.

[b] Solitude no more proves fanctity than fanity. Many a fpiritual as well as carnal peft-houfe ftands alone. — This is borrowed from Fuller's "holy ftate."

[c] Let this be fet againft fuperftition.

late 1

Main Body headed by the Commander in chief.

Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard

Grand advanced Guard

Advanced Guards of the right and the left Wings

Right and left Wings.

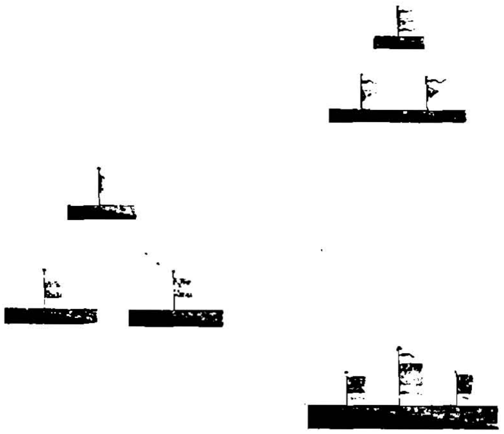


Plate 2

Main Body headed by one of the Emperours Sons.

Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard.

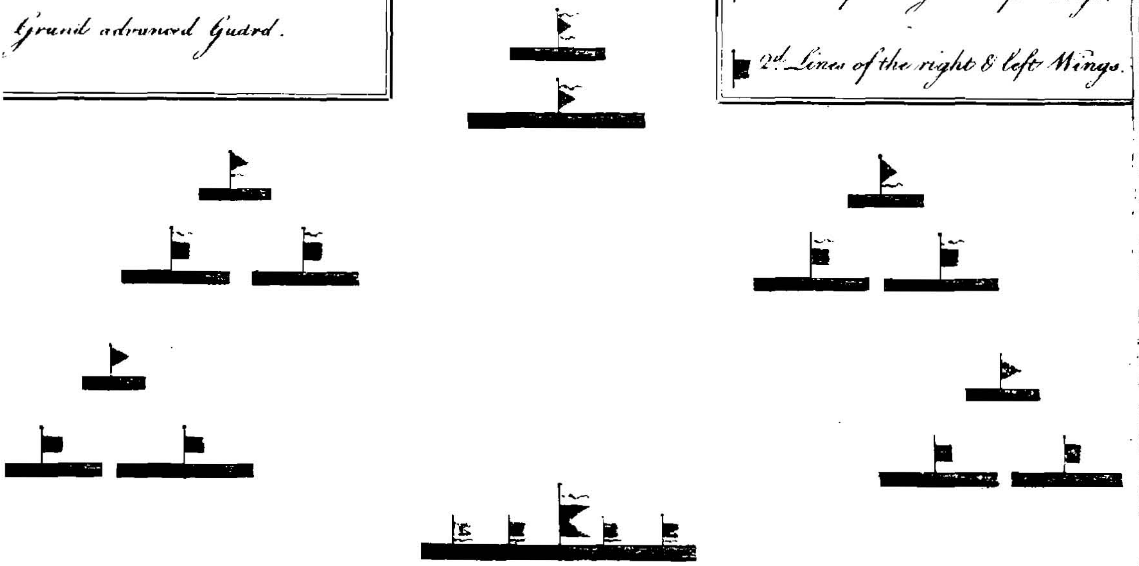
Grand advanced Gudrd.

Advanced Guards of the front Lines of the right & left Wings.

Front Lines of the right and left Wings.

Advanced Guards of the second Lines of the right & left Wings.

2d. Lines of the right & left Wings.



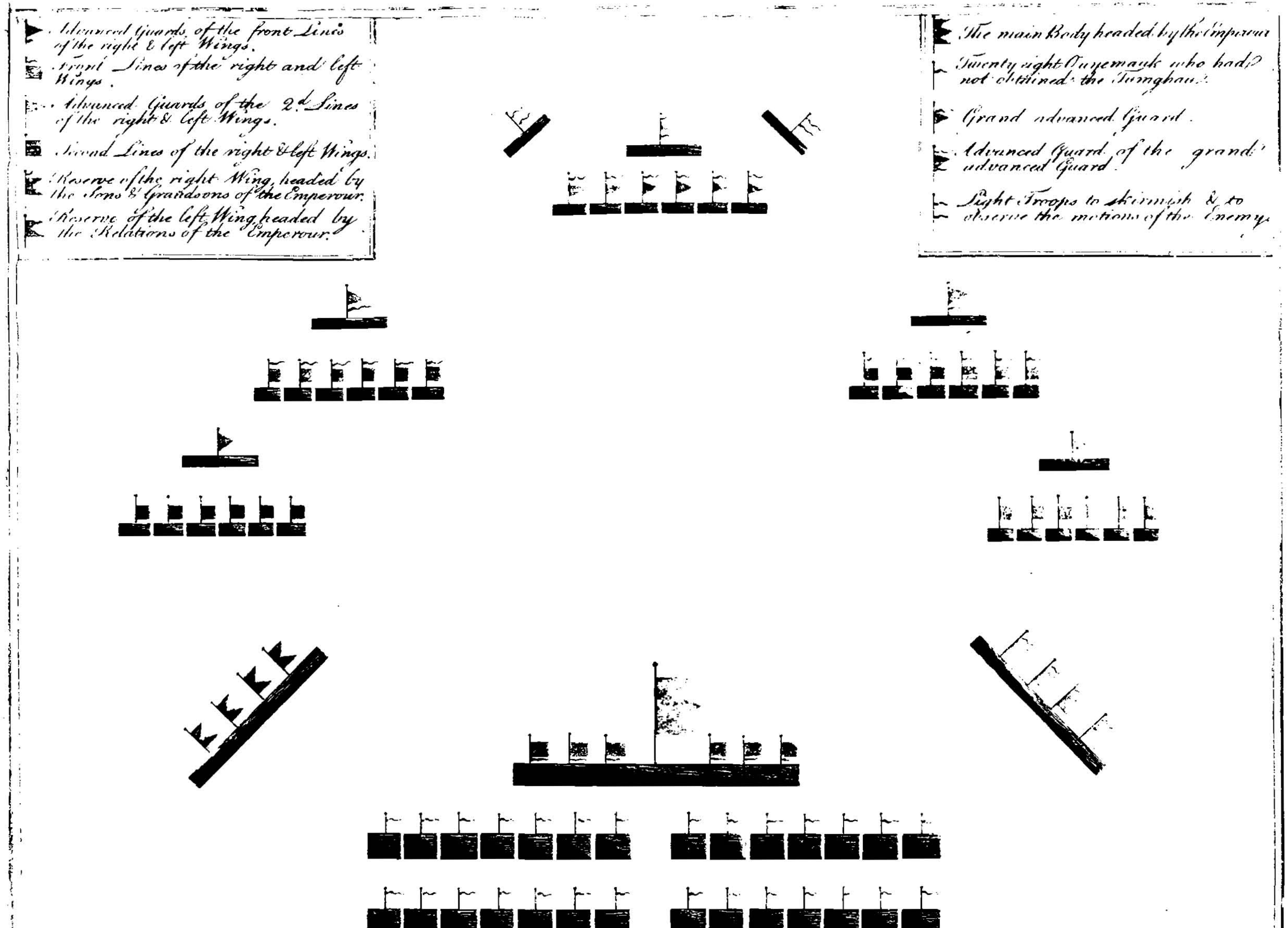

Advanced Guards of the front Lines of the right & left Wings.
Front Lines of the right and left Wings.
Advanced Guards of the 2d Lines of the right & left Wings.
Second Lines of the right & left Wings.
Reserve of the right Wing, headed by the Sons & Grandsons of the Emperour.
Reserve of the left Wing, headed by the Relations of the Emperour.
The main Body headed by the Emperour
Twenty eight Ouyemauk who had not obtained the Tumghau.
Grand advanced Guard.
Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard.
Light Troops to skirmish & to observe the motions of the Enemy.

Plate 3